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Following the example of Morgan, Lowie, Westermarck, Radcliffe-Brown and others who have studied the kinship systems of primitive societies, work --based on the same general assumptions--has been done on the Tupí-Guaraní, with certain differences from the work of those authorities arising from the use of a linguistic rather than a sociological approach.

With the above end in mind we have collected, classified and analyzed whatever kinship terms we could find in the old works dealing with the Tupí-Guaraní; from the more modern ones little was taken, since, in the well-known opinion of Marcos Morínigo (1)

1. Morínigo, 1931.

"ésta curiosa y difícil nomenclatura fué completamente desplazada por el hispanismo."

Over and above questions of validity, the works consulted presented serious difficulties proceeding from a lack of uniformity in recording the words, from typographic errors, and, very often, from a total absence of clearness concerning the use of this or that form.

Thus, the Vocabulário and the Tesoro of Montoya (2), which serves as the base for

2. Montoya, 1876.

this present work, and which gives us the greatest number of terms, present small mistakes and irregularities in the transcriptions of the terms (probably stemming [8] from type-setting errors) of such a kind as to make it difficult to attribute an exact meaning to the word in question. In the Tesoro, for example, Montoya says, on page 114: "chesyy ky, the second sister of my mother", while on page 115 there is the note: "sy yky, the aunt, youngest sister of one's mother". In the Vocabulário we once again find: "aunt, applied universally to the youngest daughter of one's mother, chesy y ky."*

* p.114: chesyy ky, la hermana segunda de mí madre; p.115: sy yky, la tia, hermana menor de su madre; Vocabuláno: tia, dizen todos a la hermana menor de su madre, chesy y ky.

Here, it would appear, is the same word, used to designate two different types of kinship, and written in three different ways.

The Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica (3), by an unknown author (Professor Plínio Ayro-

3. Anonymous, 1938.

sa says, in the Preface, that it is possible that this is a copy of a manuscript written by Ancheita), and composed--according to the title-page--in the year 1621, also records a great number of kinship terms. This work constitutes a linguistic document of great value, since it reflects the Tupí-Guaraní spoken on the coast of Brazil during the epoch of colonization. Its author must have lived along that section of the Brazilian coast between São Vicente and Bahia, for the place-names which occur in the manuscript are those of spots in that region.

The Vocabulário is not found--when its value is weighed--to be particularly lacking in irregularities insofar as the transcriptions of Tupí-Guaraní phonemes are concerned. On this point Professor Plínio Ayrosa says (4): "Truly, even the most unobservant of

4. Op.cit., p.69.

eyes cannot fail to note the arbitrary orthography of the text and, especially, the multiplicity of signs used to transcribe identical terms or terms containing similar components. The irregularity with which ig --of special importance in Tupí-Guaraní--appears,

the lack of accentuation on the words, and the poor method of representing expressions formed by the juxtaposition of various terms, all flagrantly denounce the copyist as unattentive and, doubtless, one who had no knowledge of Amerind languages....One gets the feeling, in reading the pages of the Vocabulário, that it was originally a work of pureness and great magnitude; that only a great and patient tupista could have been able to produce such a thing, but no one is able to neglect, on the other hand, the mistakes and falsities of an improvising copyist."

The Diccionario Portuguêz-Brasiliano (5), which was also utilized by us, reveals

5. Ayrosa, 1795 (ed.)

the speech of the Tupí-Guaraní of the north coast of Brazil (Maranhão), and is of great value in that it provides a basis for the comparative study of the Tupí-Guaraní spoken in that region as contrasted with that of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Numerous writing mistakes also show up here, as well as many words which only came into existence under the influence of Portuguese.

The excellent Vocabulário de la Lengua Guaraní (6) of Father Paulo Restivo, which

6. Montoya, 1722.

has been reproduced by Montoya, presents, thanks to our amplifications, the most accurate and best of the collected examples, a notable contribution to the clarification of questions relating to Tupí-Guaraní semantics. The kinship terms listed in Restivo's Vocabulário are uniformly written and their exact sense is better defined than in other works consulted.

In the Catecismo de la lengua guarani (7), Montoya deals in a special way with

7. Montoya, 1876

"kinship names", making very distinct the relationship--the various degrees of kindred existing-- between brothers, cousins, nephews and second cousins.

The Catalogo dos nomes do parentesco que ha entre os Brazis , by Padre Antonio Araujo (8), was of great assistance in completing the study of the interrelations of kin-

8. Platzmann, 1898.

ship terms, besides occasionally being of use in clarifying certain incidents.[10]

In Stradelli (9), we found, by collation and a rapid comparison, the kinship terms

9. Stradelli, 1929.

employed in the Nheengatú of the Amazon Basin. The registered words presented marked differences between the Tupí-Guaraní of Amazonia and that of the regions of Paraguay and Coastal Brazil, salient among these being the substitution of v, or b, for u.

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We even attempted, by whatever means were possible and warranted, to interpret all the words encountered in Batista Caetano (10). Subsequent studies, based on these

10. Batista Caetano, 1879.

interpretations, were carried on in an attempt to correlate the terms themselves with the Tupí-Guaraní social organization.